## Message Text

SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00 //078 W

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O 081619Z MAY 78
FM USMISSION USNATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1362
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USNMR SHAPE BE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 04587

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJECT: MBFR: ASSOCIATED MEASURES (AMS) GUIDANCE

REF: STATE 116103 DTG 060148Z MAY 78

SUMMARY: WE HAVE CAREFULLY REVIEWED THE GUIDANCE CONTAINED IN REFTEL. WE BELIEVE THE COURSE OF ACTION IT PROPOSES HAS SERIOUS SUBSTANTIVE DRAWBACKS AND THAT IT WILL NOT PROMOTE ALLIED CONSIDERATION AND APPROVAL OF AMS PROPOSALS. WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND CONTINUING WITH OUR PRESENT COURSE REGARDING SPC AND WORKING GROUP DISCUSSIONS OF AMS. IN PARAS 3 AND 4 BELOW, WE REQUEST REVISED INSTRUCTIONS TO THAT EFFECT. END SUMMARY.

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1. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE APPROACH TO ALLIED CONSIDERATION OF AMS ADVOCATED IN REFTEL AIMS TO PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF THE US AMS PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, WE HAVE STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT ADOPTING SUCH AN APPROACH AT THIS TIME FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

- (A) THE SPC HAS JUST SPENT ONE MONTH LABORIOUSLY SEEKING TO AGREE ON A PROCEDURE THAT WOULD INITIATE AMS DISCUSSION. TO REOPEN THE PROCEDURAL ISSUES IN THE SPC NOW WOULD FURTHER DELAY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF AMS IN EITHER THE SPC OR WORKING GROUP UNTIL AT LEAST EARLY JUNE.
- (B) GIVEN THE CHANGE IN WG LEADERSHIP (I.E., DEPARTURE OF GROUP CAPTAIN SMITH), AND ITS RECENT TRACK RECORD WITH THE AML PAPER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE WG WOULD BE OVERWHELMED -- AND WORK ON THE AMS FURTHER DELAYED -- IF WE SEND THE ENTIRE AMS PACKAGE TO THE WG. MOREOVER, THE GENERAL LANGUAGE OF THE WG MANDATE PROPOSED IN PARA 6 OF REFTEL WOULD LEAVE THE WG TO FACE EXACTLY THE SAME PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS THE SPC HAS JUST BELABORED.
- (C) WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE US WILL BE ABLE TO AVOID ETCIBUKJATION WITH THE FRG -- OR OTHERS WHO MAY OPPOSE CERTAIN MEASURES -- BY THE PROCEDURAL SECRET

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MANEUVER OF SWITCHING FROM THE SPC TO THE WG. IN THE FIRST PLACE, IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THE FRG WILL PERCEIVE OUR SUGGESTION FOR A "COHERENT TECHNICAL EXAMINATION" AS ANYTHING LESS THAN AN ATTEMPT TO BOX THEM IN BY A WG TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT. SECONDLY, IF THE FRG DOES AGREE TO SUPPORT A SHIFT IN VENUE, BONN IS AS CAPABLE OF TYING UP A TECHNICAL EXAMINATION IN THE WG AS AN SPC DISCUSSION -- AND COULD ACTUALLY DO SO WITH MORE EASE IN THE LESS VISIBLE WG FORUM.

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(D) THE AMS DISCUSSION AS IT HAS DEVELOPED IN THE SPC SEEMS TO US TO BE A MORE PRACTICAL WAY FORWARD. THE FRG AND UK ARE APPARENTLY PREPARED TO REMAND UP TO 6-7 MEASURES TO THE WG FOR IMMEDIATE TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT AND ELABORATION, WHILE RESERVING 3-4 MEASURES FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION IN THE SPC. IN THE LONG RUN, WE BELIEVE THAT FOCUSING EARLY ON THOSE MEASURES WHICH ARE POLITICALLY CONTENTIOUS WILL SERVE OUR INTERESTS BETTER THAN ATTEMPTING TO SUBMERGE THE ENTIRE DEBATE IN THE WG. FOR ONE THING, THE FRG

ITSELF HAS ADOPTED THIS APPROACH AND IT MUST THEREFORE BE PREPARED TO TAKE THE HEAT IF THE ALLIES STRONGLY ENDORSE A MEASURE WHICH THEY OPPOSE.

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(E) THE PUSH FOR AN INITIAL TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT RUNS CONTRARY TO OUR INITIAL ASSURANCES TO THE UK AND FRG THAT "WE WOULD WELCOME (THEIR) COMMENTS IN THE SPC" (STATE 87491, PARA 4) AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO THE

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POSITION LAID OUT IN MEASURE 4, (PARA II 4B, STATE 87491) WHICH STATES THAT "THERE ARE A NUMBER OF POSSIBILITIES WHICH THE ALLIES COULD EXAMINE IF THEY DECIDE THAT THE IDEA OF GROUND MOBILE OBSERVATION MERITS FURTHER DISCUSSION." THIS IMPLIED TO SEVERAL READERS THERE WOULD BE A POLITICAL DISCUSSION PRIOR TO ANY TECHNICAL ANALYSIS.

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(F) IF THE DISCUSSION OF ANY MEASURE OR MEASURES STALLS IN THE SPC, THERE WILL THEN BE VERY STRONG REASONS TO APPEAL TO THE WG FOR A FAST "ASSESSMENT"

WEIGHING THE PROS AND CONS OF ADOPTING OR DROPPING A GIVEN MEASURE. WE BELIEVE THE FRG WILL BE HARD PUT TO OPPOSE A WG ASSESSMENT UNDER THOSE CONDITIONS AND SUCH A STUDY WOULD BE MORE VALUABLE TO OUR GOALS THAN A SINGLE, HEAVILY BRACKETED, PAPER. MOREOVER, SECRET

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THE FRG DEL HERE HAS INFORMED US THAT THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IT IS BONN'S INTENTION TO PREVENT THE EVENTUAL TECHNICAL-MILITARY ASSESSMENT OF ANY REPEAT ANY MEASURE ONCE THE POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS HAVE BEEN AIRED.

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2. THE APPROACH PROPOSED IN REFTEL, AND PARTICULARLY THAT IN PARA 9, BEGS THE KEY ISSUE. IF WE REALLY WISH TO PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF OUR AMS PACKAGE, WE WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO PRESS BONN AT SOME POINT. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD DO SO FIRST AT THE SPC LEVEL WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF AS MANY ALLIES AS POSSIBLE: TO JOIN THE AMS DISCUSSION AT A HIGH BILATERAL LEVEL OVER A PROCEDURAL ISSUE (THAT THE FRG MAY PERCEIVE AS HAVING BROADER IMPLICATIONS) SEEMS TO US TO BE OVERLOADING THE POLITICAL CIRCUIT ON A RELATIVELY MINOR MATTER.

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3. RECOMMENDATION: WE BELIEVE THE MOMENTUM GAINED IN THE SPC SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AND THE UK/FRG/CANADIAN APPROACH BE FOLLOWED. IF ADOPTED, THIS APPROACH WOULD ENABLE THE WG TO BEGIN STUDY ON A NUMBER OF RELATIVELY NON-CONTROVERSIAL MEASURES, WHILE THE SPC THRASHED A WHILE OVER THE MORE DIFFICULT ONES BEFORE TURNING TO THE WG FOR HELP. WHILE THIS APPROACH IS NOT CERTAIN TO SUCCEED, IT SEEMS MORE EXPEDITIOUS THAN ANY ALTERNATIVES, MORE LIKELY TO BUILD ALLIED CONSENSUS BEHIND AN AMS PACKAGE AND BETTER CALCULATED TO FOSTER JOINT ALLIED PRESSURE ON SECRET

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THE FRG TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE ON AMS. WE THEREFORE SUGGEST PROMPT RECONSIDERATION OF THE GUIDANCE CONTAINED REFTEL.

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4. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON COMMENTS BY OOB MAY 9. BENNETT

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